

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 095210 TOSEC 040018
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY SXSAS:RCASTRODALE

APPROVED BY S/S-O:RCASTRODALE

-----130056 132132Z /65

O 132014Z APR 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 095210 TOSEC 040018

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAPE TOWN 732 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN
LONDON OTTAWA PARIS USUN LAGOS PRETORIA MOSCOW APR 13.

QUOTE: C O N

F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 732

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MNUC, PARM, PORG, UNSC, SF

SUBJECT: NUCLEAR MATTERS: A) SAG RESPONSE ON TECHNICAL TALKS;

B) UNSC CONSIDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STANCE

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 698, (B) STATE 92273,

1. IN REFTTEL A I REPORTED ON THE SAG UNSATISFACTORY RESPONSE TO
THE TECHNICAL TALKS AND INDICATED I WOULD SUBMIT MY IDEAS ON
NEXT STEPS. IN THE INTERIM I HAVE CONSULTED WITH MY FRENCH
COLLEAGUE TO SEE HOW BRAND FOURIE REACTED TO THE FRENCH DEMARCHE
MADE LAST WEEK AND TO GET HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR
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PAGE 02 STATE 095210 TOSEC 040018

FAVORABLE SAG ACTION. AMBASSADOR SHRICKE TELLS ME THAT HIS
CONVERSATION WITH FOURIE WAS QUITE UNSATISFACTORY AND LEFT HIM
PESSIMISTIC THAT WE COULD EXPECT A FAVORABLE RESPONSE ON SAFE-
GUARDS. (HE DID NOT RAISE NPT.) FOURIE ALSO SAID TO HIM THAT
SAG WAS CONCERNED THAT WHATEVER MIGHT BE AGREED TO ON FUEL
SUPPLY AND SAFEGUARDS WOULD EASILY BE VOIDED BY SECURITY COUNCIL
ACTION WHICH WESTERN POWERS MIGHT BE UNABLE TO OPPOSE.

WE HAVE BOTH COME TO CONCLUSION THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR FAVORABLE SAG ACTION ON THE STEPS WE WANT ARE NOT GOOD.

2. THIS LEAVES THE QUESTION OF WHAT TO DO NEXT, MADE MORE URGENT BY THE PROSPECTIVE UNSC ACTION. ONE APPROACH--THE ONE DESIRED BY THE SAG--IS TO ENTER INTO BROAD POLITICAL TALKS ON RELATIONS IN WHICH THE SAG CAN BE EXPECTED TO HORSETRADE WHAT CHIPS IT HOLDS (RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, NUCLEAR MATTERS) OF INTEREST TO THE WEST FOR AN UNDERSTANDING ON RELAXATION OF PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA. ANOTHER APPROACH IS TO TRY TO USE WHAT LEVERAGE WE HAVE LEFT TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO ACCEPT NPT AND SAFEGUARDS. THIS LEVERAGE CONSISTS OF: (1) THE FRENCH BEING WILLING TO SAY THAT FUTURE COOPERATION ON KOEBERG HANGS IN THE BALANCE, AND (2) THE WEST INDICATING THAT UNLESS THE SAG MOVES ON NPT AND SAFEGUARDS, ITS ABILITY TO HOLD THE LINE AT THE UN ON SANCTIONS BECOMES PROBLEMATIC. I WOULD NOT ADVOCATE AT THIS STAGE ENTERING INTO THE HORSETRADING THAT THE SAG SEEKS. I AM NOT SURE THAT USING THE LEVERAGE WE HAVE TO TRY TO EXTRACT ACCEPTANCE OF NPT AND SAFEGUARDS WILL WORK. ASSUMING WE COULD GET THE FRENCH AND OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UNSC TO JOIN US, IT WOULD BE WORTH MAKING A FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE TO THE SAG TO EXPLAIN THAT WHILE WE WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN COOPERATION IN PEACEFUL USES (INCLUDING KOEBERG) AND RESIST FAR-REACHING SANCTIONS, WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO DO SO UNLESS THE SAG TAKES THE TWO ESSENTIAL STEPS.

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PAGE 03 STATE 095210 TOSEC 040018

3. THE RESOLUTION PROPOSED IN PARA 3 OF REFTTEL "B" IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF USING THE REMAINING WESTERN LEVERAGE WITH THE SAG. I WOULD FAVOR MAKING THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE SUGGESTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE BEFORE WE GET INTO A SITUATION WHERE WE HAVE TO VOTE ON A RESOLUTION CONTAINING POINTS D AND E. WE PLACE OURSELVES IN A BETTER POSITION TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO BE RESPONSIVE IF WE EXPLAIN THE FACTS OF LIFE PRIVATELY BEFORE WE JOIN WITH OTHERS IN THREATENING THEM PUBLICLY. IN THE END THE PRIVATE APPROACH MAY NOT WORK. IF IT DOES NOT, A UNSC RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED IS NO MORE, AND PROBABLY LESS, LIKELY TO ELICIT THE DESIRED RESULTS.
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UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CAT-B, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE095210
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RCASTRODALE
Enclosure: REPEATING 78 CAPE TOWN 732
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: N780004-0405
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780458/aaaabxnq.tel
Line Count: 107
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e35aa1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 CAPE TOWN 698, 78 STATE 92273
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2972816
Secure: LOCK1
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040610
Subject: NUCLEAR MATTERS: A) SAG RESPONSE ON TECHNICAL TALKS; B) UNSC CONSIDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STANCE
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, PORC, SF, US, UNSC
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e35aa1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014